January 2024 | Volume I | Issue X | www.jonaraja.com

# Pavak

Jonaraja Institute of
Genocide & Attrocities Studies

## CONSOLIDATION
### OF GENOCIDE

अपथ्याशीवबालःसामन्तसहितस्ततः।
जनानाम जातिविध्वंसे सूहभट्टः कृतोद्यमः।

- Pandit Jonaraja, Father of Genocide Studies

**Pandit Jonaraja**, the author of second Rajtarangini that follows the Rajtarangini of Kalhan, was a Kashmiri Shaivite Bhatta Brahmin. His real name was Jyotsanakar, meaning the creator of moonlight. This poetic name was true to his being. He was an exceptional and sensitive poet, well versed in history, astrology, Ayurveda, Yoga and subtler aspects of all these disciplines. He was a renowned Sanskrit scholar. His year of birth as per the records available is estimated as 1389-90.

Like Kalhan he has written the history of Kashmir in poetry. That is not all there is about him. He has recorded the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits in detail and delineated its aspects like the present day genocide scholars.

**Jati Vidhwans**—this is the word Jonaraja has coined to describe genocide. He has defined genocide and his definition almost mirrors the definition given by Raphael Lemkin. He has even pointed out the special intent that motivates the perpetrator and given a very sensitive and vivid account of how an ideology radicalises a regime and effects a total change in its mode of operation that leads to genocide. He has made it clear that the mind of a perpetrator is at a very low level of maturity. That is the view held by present day genocide scholars also. He has defined genocide and his definition is almost equal to the definition given by Raphael Lemkin. His account of the first exodus of Kashmiri Pandits, if placed in correct context, is no different from the atrocities the community faced in 1990.

Roots of the field of genocide studies are found in Pandit Jonaraja. He in every sense is "**Father of Genocide Studies**."

To join the **Genocide & Atrocities Studies** course,
Call/Text us at **+91-99062-87277** or visit **www.jonaraja.com**

# VOLUME I

## issue X

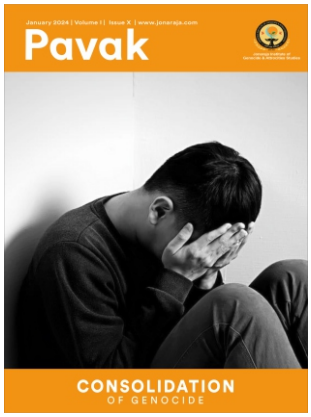

01 **From the Editor's Desk**
What is Consolidation of Genocide?
| **Sunanda Vashisht**

02 **Message from the Chairman**
Insights Unearthed: Brij Nath Sumbaly's Vision on Kashmir's 1990 Tragedy and the Emergence of Genocidal Realities.
| **Tito Ganju**

04 **Message from the Director**
Genocide in Kashmir:
Embodiment of the aspects and Consolidation.
| **Dr. Dileep Kaul**

07 **Catherine Duleep Singh- A Profile of a Sikh Princess who helped Jewish Families escape Nazi Germany (Reproduced from Holocaust Memorial Day Trust)**

08 **Understanding Armenian Genocide: Reproduced from The Armenian Genocide Museum Institute Foundation.**


**PAVAK** | Volume 1, Issue 10


**Editor-in-Chief:**
Sunanda Vashisht

**Publication Owner**
Jonaraja Institute of Genocide & Atrocities Studies

**Design**
Jonaraja Institute of Genocide & Atrocities Studies



**Phone**
+91-99062-87277

**Website**
www.jonaraja.com

**Instagram**
jigas_india

# What is Consolidation of Genocide?

**Is consolidation then part of denial stage or should it be recognized as a different stage? In our view, consolidation should be viewed as last and often irreversible stage of Genocide.**

**Sunanda Vashisht**
Editor-in-Chief, Pavak

This edition of Pavak deals with fairly difficult and oft misunderstood stage of Genocide called Consolidation. Many genocide scholars don't even acknowledge this stage and insist on denial being the last and final stage of Genocide. This makes sense because once a genocide is denied there is little left to retrieve. However, at Jonaraja Institute, our scholars opine that after denial, a perpetrator always consolidates to maintain control. Hence, we present this edition of Pavak which discusses the denial stage in detail.

The term "consolidation phase" in the context of genocide typically refers to a stage in the progression of genocide where the perpetrators seek to solidify and maintain control over the targeted population. This phase follows the initial acts of violence and mass killings and involves various strategies to ensure the continued suppression and elimination of the targeted group. It's important to note that the stages of genocide are complex and interconnected, and the consolidation phase may vary in its specific characteristics depending on the historical and cultural context of the genocide in question. Understanding and recognizing these phases are crucial for preventing and responding to genocide and mass atrocities. Genocide consolidation follows the actual perpetration of genocide, where the perpetrators having gone beyond mass violence and extermination now ensure the long-term dominance of the perpetrating group. During this stage, the perpetrators typically intensify their efforts to eliminate the targeted population and ensure that their actions go unchallenged. This may involve suppression of any remaining resistance or opposition.

Consolidation can be achieved through forcibly relocating members of the targeted group to specific areas or concentration camps. This helps in segregating and controlling the population. Perpetrators often continue efforts to dehumanize the targeted group through propaganda, hate speech, and other means. Dehumanization is a psychological tool used to justify further violence and discrimination. The consolidation phase may involve strict censorship and control of information to limit external awareness of the ongoing atrocities. This can include restricting media access and manipulating information to shape public perception. Perpetrators aim to suppress any form of resistance or opposition from the targeted group. This involves harsh measures, including arrests, torture, and executions, to intimidate and control the population.

Consolidation phase emphasizes on further erase the cultural identity of the targeted group, including the destruction of cultural symbols, suppression of language and traditions, and forced assimilation. There are strong measures taken to prevent international intervention by denying access to humanitarian organizations, manipulating diplomatic efforts, or providing false information to downplay the severity of the situation. Maintaining an atmosphere of fear to discourage any potential resistance or rebellion is how consolidation is achieved.

**It is easier to understand Genocide consolidation through examples and explanations given below**

**Cleansing and Occupation:**
Example: After committing genocide, the perpetrators may engage in ethnic cleansing to further remove any remnants of the targeted group. They might occupy and settle in areas formerly inhabited by the victims.
Explanation: By altering demographics and taking control of key territories, perpetrators aim to establish a new social and political order that reinforces their dominance.

**Institutionalization of Discrimination:**
Example: Enacting discriminatory laws or policies against the surviving members of the targeted group.
Explanation: Legal measures are used to institutionalize discrimination, restricting the rights and opportunities of the targeted group, reinforcing their marginalized status.

**Cultural Suppression:**
Example: Banning the language, cultural practices, and religious activities of the targeted group.
Explanation: Suppressing the cultural identity of the targeted group weakens their cohesion and makes it easier for the perpetrators to assimilate or erase their distinctiveness.

**Creation of Propaganda:**
Example: Developing and disseminating propaganda that justifies the genocide, vilifies the victims, and glorifies the actions of the perpetrators.
Explanation: Propaganda serves to legitimize the genocide both domestically and internationally, shaping narratives that support the perpetrators' version of events.

**Control of Information:**
Example: Restricting access to information and controlling media to manipulate public perception.
Explanation: By controlling information flows, the perpetrators can shape the narrative surrounding the genocide, minimizing dissent and opposition both within and outside the affected region.

**Impunity and Lack of Accountability:**
Example: Shielding perpetrators from legal consequences and international scrutiny.
Explanation: Ensuring impunity for those responsible for the genocide reinforces a culture of fear and prevents justice, making it difficult for survivors and international bodies to hold individuals accountable.

**The Holocaust (1941-45)**: perpetrated by Nazi Germany during World War II, involved the systematic extermination of six million Jews. The consolidation stage saw an escalation of mass killings, concentration camps, and efforts to eradicate Jewish communities across Europe.

**Rwandan Genocide (1994):** The genocide in Rwanda resulted in the mass slaughter of approximately 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus. During the consolidation stage, extremist Hutu militias intensified their efforts to eliminate the targeted groups, leading to widespread massacres and displacement.

Bosnian Genocide (1992-1995): The Bosnian Genocide involved the killing of Bosnian Muslims by Bosnian Serb forces during the Bosnian War. The consolidation stage witnessed intensified ethnic cleansing, mass killings, and the establishment of detention camps.

**Kashmiri Pandit Genocide (1328 onwards)**: The brutal genocide of 700 years has been intensified through ethnic cleansing, widespread burning and desecration of temples.

Is consolidation then part of denial stage or should it be recognized as a different stage? In our view, consolidation should be viewed as last and often irreversible stage of Genocide. In each of the cases explained above, the consolidation stage marked a critical and often brutal phase where perpetrators seek to ensure the success of their genocidal objectives. Genocide consolidation is a complex process that involves a combination of physical, legal, and psychological measures to entrench the power of the perpetrators and erase the existence of the targeted group.

***Genocide consolidation is a complex process that involves a combination of physical, legal, and psychological measures to entrench the power of the perpetrators and erase the existence of the targeted group.***

# Insights Unearthed: Brij Nath Sumbaly's Vision on Kashmir's 1990 Tragedy and the Emergence of Genocidal Realities.

**The 1990 genocide of Kashmiri Pandits marked a dark chapter in the history of the Kashmir Valley. The community faced brutal violence, forced displacement, and a grave threat to their cultural identity.**

**Tito Ganju**
Chairman, JIGAS

Master Brij Nath Sumbaly, a renowned figure in the field of education, holds a distinguished legacy as my teacher at Tyndale Biscoe School. His impact extends beyond the confines of the classroom, marking him as a notable and revered educator. With a reputation for excellence, Master Sumbaly has left an indelible mark on the institution, shaping the educational experiences of countless students, including myself. His commitment to fostering knowledge and character has contributed significantly to the prestigious standing of Tyndale Biscoe School, creating a lasting influence on all those fortunate enough to have been under his guidance.

In the backdrop of the tumultuous events of 1990 in Kashmir, a chance encounter unfolded while I was riding my bike in Jammu. Master Brij Nath Sumbaly, crossed my path, and I spontaneously invited him for a conversation, setting the stage for an unexpected exchange of insights.

Our meeting in 1991 predated the widespread conceptualization of genocide studies, a term that would gain prominence in the years following. During our conversation, I delved into the events transpiring in Kashmir, seeking Sumbaly's perspective on the unfolding tragedy affecting the Kashmiri Pandits. His response was not only enlightening but eerily prescient, foreshadowing themes that would later become integral to scholarly discourse on genocide.

In the absence of the explicit terminology of "genocide," Sumbaly's insights captured the essence of the strategic and systemic efforts by perpetrators to reshape the socio-political fabric of Kashmir post-1990. His observations went beyond the immediate impact of the tragedy, indicating a depth of understanding that transcended the ordinary narratives of the time.

In the early 1990s, discussions around genocide, particularly in the context of Kashmir, were in their infancy. Sumbaly's foresight, however, reflected a recognition that the violent acts against the Kashmiri Pandits were not isolated incidents but part of a broader plan aimed at consolidating the gains made by the perpetrators. The deliberate targeting of the Pandits and subsequent efforts to erase their presence were elements of a calculated strategy that Sumbaly, in his unique position, could discern even before the term "genocide" gained widespread acknowledgment.

Our meeting, devoid of the symbolism attached to a particular cafeteria, became a platform for exchanging ideas that were far ahead of their time. Sumbaly's insights illuminated the contours of a tragic narrative unfolding in Kashmir, with implications that extended beyond the immediate suffering of the Pandit community.

While Kailash cafeteria ( which used to be his favorite joint at Srinagar)was not the focal point of our conversation, the significance lies in the fact that our meeting occurred in a time when the term "genocide" was not commonly employed to analyze such events. Sumbaly's early recognition of the systematic nature of the violence against the Kashmiri Pandits serves as a testament to his analytical acumen and ability to comprehend the strategic goals of the perpetrators.

In the broader context, Sumbaly's insights align with the evolution of genocide studies that gained momentum in the years following our meeting. Scholars, post-2010, increasingly focused on the consolidation phase of genocide, investigating the calculated efforts made by perpetrators to solidify their gains after committing atrocities.

The 1990 genocide of Kashmiri Pandits marked a dark chapter in the history of the Kashmir Valley. The community faced brutal violence, forced displacement, and a grave threat to their cultural identity. In the wake of these horrific events, Master Brij Nath Sumbly stepped forward as a beacon of understanding and enlightenment, offering a nuanced perspective that went beyond the immediate consequences of the tragedy.

Sumbly's reluctance to employ the term 'genocide' in describing the events might be seen as a careful choice of words, reflecting the complexity of the situation. Genocide, as a term, carries legal and moral implications that demand a precise assessment of intent and actions. However, despite not explicitly using the term, Sumbly conveyed a profound understanding of the gravity of the situation and the subsequent actions of the perpetrators.

One key aspect of Sumbly's analysis was his emphasis on the consolidation of achievements by the perpetrators after the genocide of the Pandits. This insight speaks to a broader strategy employed by those responsible for the violence, suggesting that the horrors inflicted upon the Kashmiri Pandits were not isolated incidents but part of a larger plan to reshape the socio-political landscape of the region. Sumbly's ability to discern this consolidation effort highlighted the long-term repercussions of the genocide and the strategic goals of the perpetrators.

In understanding the gravity of the situation, Master Brij Nath Sumbly showcased a depth of comprehension that surpassed that of many Kashmiri Pandits. This is a testament to his analytical acumen and a keen awareness of the intricate dynamics at play. While the community grappled with the immediate aftermath of displacement and loss, Sumbly's insights provided a broader context, urging a more comprehensive understanding of the events that unfolded.

Comparisons can be drawn between Master Brij Nath Sumbly's observations and the perspectives of genocide scholars like Henry Theriault. The mention of Theriault, who has been actively engaged in the study of genocide, particularly the consolidation phase, adds a layer of academic validation to Sumbly's insights. The fact that scholars specializing in genocide studies echo similar

***In the absence of the explicit terminology of "genocide," Sumbaly's insights captured the essence of the strategic and systemic efforts by perpetrators to reshape the socio-political fabric of Kashmir post-1990. His observations went beyond the immediate impact of the tragedy, indicating a depth of understanding that transcended the ordinary narratives of the time.***

***Master Brij Nath Sumbly's analysis of consolidation after the 1990 genocide of Kashmiri Pandits showcased his ability to articulate a nuanced understanding of the strategic actions taken by perpetrators. His summary, provided in 1990, anticipated the discussions in the field of genocide studies regarding consolidation, highlighting the importance of recognizing the calculated and sustained efforts to reshape the aftermath of the tragedy. Sumbly's insights contribute significantly to the comprehensive understanding of the long-term consequences of the Kashmiri Pandit genocide, emphasizing the need to acknowledge the strategic nature of post-genocidal actions.***

**Master Brij Nath Sumbaly**

sentiments about consolidation further underscores the severity and calculated nature of the post-genocidal actions in Kashmir.

Henry Theriault and other genocide scholars have been discussing the concept of consolidation of genocide in recent years. This term refers to the subsequent efforts made by perpetrators to solidify their gains, often involving measures to erase the traces of the targeted group, inhibit their return, and reinforce the impact of the initial atrocities. By aligning Sumbly's observations with the discussions in the field of genocide studies, a cohesive narrative emerges, emphasizing the strategic and systematic nature of the post-genocidal phase in Kashmir.

Master Brij Nath Sumbly's role as a perceptive teacher and commentator on the events following the 1990 genocide of Kashmiri Pandits is crucial in understanding the complexities of the situation. His clear perspective on the consolidation efforts by the perpetrators, even without explicitly using the term 'genocide,' provides a valuable lens through which to view the broader implications of the tragedy. The alignment of his insights with the discussions among genocide scholars like Henry Theriault adds depth and credibility to the analysis, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive understanding of the post-genocidal phase in Kashmir.

Sumbly's profound insights into the consolidation efforts were not isolated from the historical context. Prior to 1990, he, along with many Kashmiri Pandits, had encountered indicators of the impending crisis. However, a prevailing faith in the state's ability to safeguard their interests led to the collective dismissal of these warning signs.

The pre-1990 period saw a series of indicators that hinted at the simmering tensions within the Kashmir Valley. Sumbly, being a perceptive figure, might have recognized the subtle shifts in the socio-political landscape that foretold potential challenges. The Kashmiri Pandit community, rooted in its trust in the state's commitment to protect its citizens, may have overlooked these warning signs, assuming that the situation would not escalate to the tragic proportions it eventually reached.

The unaltered faith in the state's ability to address the concerns of the Kashmiri Pandits played a pivotal role in shaping their response to the indicators. The sense of security that the community felt, stemming from historical ties and a shared identity with the state, led to a degree of complacency. Sumbly and others might have hoped that the challenges they observed were transient and would be effectively managed by the authorities.

However, the tragic reality unfolded differently. The state, despite the faith invested in it, failed to protect the Kashmiri Pandits from the horrors of the 1990 genocide. The consolidation efforts by the perpetrators, which Sumbly later highlighted, were executed amidst a backdrop of systemic failures and the inability of the state to prevent or effectively respond to the violence unleashed upon the Pandit community.

In retrospect, the pre-1990 period serves as a cautionary tale about the consequences of misplaced trust and an unwavering belief in the state's ability to safeguard its citizens. Sumbly's recognition of consolidation in the aftermath of the genocide underscores the importance of learning from this historical context and acknowledging the failures of the state in ensuring the safety and protection of its diverse communities. The tragic events of 1990 stand as a stark reminder of the need for vigilance, even in the face of longstanding faith in the institutions that are meant to uphold the security and well-being of the people. Sumbly's ability to summarize consolidation in 1990 included an acknowledgment of the fact that the violence against the Pandits was not a spontaneous outburst but part of a larger strategy to reshape the socio-political fabric of Kashmir. The displacement of the Pandit community, he suggested, was not just an unfortunate consequence but a deliberate move to alter the demographic composition of the region, contributing to a long-term consolidation plan.

By emphasizing the consolidation phase, Sumbly drew attention to the sustained efforts made by the perpetrators to entrench their achievements, ensuring that the impact of the genocide persisted beyond the immediate violence. This forward-looking perspective allowed for a deeper understanding of the post-genocidal dynamics, moving beyond the immediate tragedy to comprehend the enduring consequences for the affected community and the region as a whole.

Master Brij Nath Sumbly's analysis of consolidation after the 1990 genocide of Kashmiri Pandits showcased his ability to articulate a nuanced understanding of the strategic actions taken by perpetrators. His summary, provided in 1990, anticipated the discussions in the field of genocide studies regarding consolidation, highlighting the importance of recognizing the calculated and sustained efforts to reshape the aftermath of the tragedy. Sumbly's insights contribute significantly to the comprehensive understanding of the long-term consequences of the Kashmiri Pandit genocide, emphasizing the need to acknowledge the strategic nature of post-genocidal actions.

# Genocide in Kashmir: Embodiment of the aspects and Consolidation

**After the death of Badshah, genocide was being reconsolidated and that reconsolidated state became the new status quo. After that more episodes of genocide followed. Each episode established a new status quo, with more thinning of the victim community.**

**Dr. Dileep Kumar Kaul**
Director, JIGAS

Body is constituted by social, political and economic formations. Bodies cannot be separated from their lived experiences. Here comes into play the concept of "embodiment." As lived experiences are integral to the existence of bodies, embodiment is a way of living in this world. Living in this world is living in an environment along with all social relations that bodies have. This gives rise to a place behaviour that has been referred to as "Deśācāra" by Pandit Jonaraja in his Rajatarangini.

Our embodied acts make us to interact with the world. It is through embodied acts only that we transmit our ideology and experience to other bodies. Our ideology and experience are shaped by our history, society, gender, politics, economics religion, race etc., of which our bodies are codified blends.

In this sense, the act of genocide is also an embodied practice. A group of bodies, holding a specific religious, political, cultural, national or social identity is up against another collective of bodies holding another identity, that is detested by the first collective. For the perpetrator of genocide, the victim, besides being the embodiment of an individual is also the embodiment of a community or a group. So, when a body is subjected to genocide and killed, not only an individual but a community is also killed. In this world, bodies are related with other bodies. So embodiment cannot be without relations. That is how a body, or a group of bodies, alive or killed, is understood, experienced and expressed by a perpetrator or anybody else. Deceased bodies give a feeling of accomplishment of the genocidal project to a perpetrator. So do the living bodies who are robbed of their dignity and honour.

In his Rajatarangini, Pandit Jonaraja very vividly, expresses these aspects of the genocidal project in Kashmir. In many verses of his Rajatarangini and especially in verses 655-670 he tells the story of the cultural and physical genocide of Kashmiri Pandits. Suhabhatta is a representative perpetrator who commits atrocities on Kashmiri Pandits as if a fisherman is taking out fish from the water and killing them. His terror was such that many Brahmins immolated themselves to escape his wrath. Some consumed poison, some hanged themselves, some jumped into the rivers and some jumped down from mountains.

Here the Brahmins are employing various means of committing suicide. Various means of persecution and annihilation have been used against them. The cultural identity of Brahmins, their ethnoreligious identity referred to as J ti by Pandit Jonaraja has been destroyed. Kashmiri Pandits deeply felt that the destruction of their culture and their cultural identity that is Jāti will lead to loss of the meaning of community and thus death of the community:

*jātidhvaṃse mariṣyāmo dvijeṣviti vadatsvatha|*
*jātirakṣānimittiṃ sa tāndurdaṇḍamajigrahat|| 606*

(The Brahmins made an earnest appeal that if their Jāti is destroyed, that is if they are compelled to change their religion, they will die. So to make their Jāti secure, a penalty was imposed on them.)

This penalty is Jazia, the money to be paid by a non-Muslim so that he could follow his Dharma, that too with some restrictions. This is a method to usurp the wealth of the victim by the perpetrator and make that wealth a part of the perpetrator economy in such a way that it cannot be readily identified and the victim cannot say that his wealth is being usurped because he is given a liberty, though limited to follow his religion. This is also a technique to make the victim community constantly insecure so that he can not think beyond his survival, and thus cannot work for his development.

But that is not the only way to make the victim perennially insecure. His employment, the means of sustenance also are snatched away. This was done to Jews and Armenians also. Kashmiri Pandits. Suhabhatta did everything to destroy the tradition that Kashmiri Pandits represented, the tradition of teaching, giving knowledge to the people. He snatched away their jobs and other means of employment and reduced them to a state of ultimate penury:

*vicchetumicchatā vidyāṃ tenāpahṛtavṛttibhiḥ|*
*laḍitaṃ prativeśmāgre piṇḍīlobhād dvijaiḥśvavat|| 669*

(Suhabhatta wanted to destroy the tradition of knowledge so he took away their jobs. The Dwijas (Brahmins) stood in front of every house owner like dogs protruding their tongues out in expectation of a morsel of bread.)

This was economic and cultural destruction both. The Kashmiri Pandit agency in Kashmir was being destroyed in every way and the community was becoming less and less viable. With every such step the genocide was being consolidated as the perpetrator agency was taking over everything. As the victim community of Kashmiri Pandits was slowly losing its importance as a substantive identity group the perpetrator group was gaining its "impunity potential" because Kashmiri Pandits had been rendered so weak that they could not protect themselves nor could they retaliate or protest in any way. The historical-cultural sphere of Muslim perpetrators was slowly being imposed as the archaeological heritage of the victims was being destroyed. The cognitive and emotional constitution of the perpetrator agency was such that the archaeological heritage of the victim community was considered pathological:

*kathāśeṣīkṛte sarvagīrvāṇapratimāgaṇe|*
*vyādhimukta ivānandaṃ sūhabhaṭṭobhajatattaḥ|| 604*

(Idols of all deities were broken into pieces and Suhabhatta felt so delighted as if cured of a serious ailment.)

The idols of deities are considered as serious ailments. If the idols of are taken as disease the worshippers of the idols are no less than the disease because without the worshippers the deities are insignificant. The heritage and the population to which this heritage belongs are toxified and devalued by the perpetrator. This is an important

***In his Rajatarangini, Pandit Jonaraja very vividly, expresses these aspects of the genocidal project in Kashmir. In many verses of his Rajatarangini and especially in verses 655-670 he tells the story of the cultural and physical genocide of Kashmiri Pandits. Suhabhatta is a representative perpetrator who commits atrocities on Kashmiri Pandits as if a fisherman is taking out fish from the water and killing them. His terror was such that many Brahmins immolated themselves to escape his wrath.***

feature of consolidation. The cultural heritage of the victim is devalued. That means the perpetrator identity is consolidated enough to execute this act of devaluation.

What inspires Suhabhatta to think like that? Pandit Jonaraja makes it clear:

***turuṣkadarśane bhaktyā natu dveṣeṇa sa dvijān |***
***vyaplāvayadataścāsmin hatvā na prajagalbhire || 670***

(He was devoted towards Turu kadar ana, the Islamic philosophy. Otherwise, he bore no malice towards Brahmins. That is why when he tortured them, there was no sense of committing a sin.)

This verse tells us about the psychological state of a person who has converted to another religion. Suhabhatta was a Brahmin. He was power motivated and under the genocidal assault of Muslims saw his community losing its identity steadily becoming low-identified. To attain power he joined the high-identified group of the perpetrators. As his original identity was that of a Brahmin he had no malice towards the Brahmin victims. He was becoming an embodiment of the conflict between the original Brahmin identity and the imposed Muslim identity. The above-mentioned verse shows that he was still conscious of his Brahmin identity and had no malice towards them. But he needed to perform the new Muslim identity to consolidate it. That is why he breaks temples and tortures Brahmins. These are the strategies to show that his actions and thinking were determined by Islam and that shapes his life trajectory. The memory of these actions gets accumulated in the memory of the converts and outweighs the memories of his original identity. With the passage of time and generations the community becomes indifferent towards the original identity and that makes the consolidation of genocide complete. The atrocities committed to shatter the original identity are thrown into oblivion. The indifference may take many generations to consolidate.

But history does not go in a straight line. From 1420-1470 CE came a period when under the rule of the rescuer King Sultan Zainulabdin Badshah granted all security and stature to Kashmiri Pandits. This was the phase of history that gave 50 years of respite to the victim community. Three punishments, physical, mental and financial fixed by Sikander Butshikan for the Brahmins were considered permanent and irrevocable thus consolidating their genocide. These punishments were abolished by Badshah. The consolidation of genocide was broken but not completely. The Brahmins had still to pay a bit of silver as Jaziya, the tax under Islamic law to follow their religion. (verse 817)

Jaziya is the practice of consolidation of genocide. The wealth of the victim is expropriated into the perpetrator economy and the victim is allowed a limited autonomy to follow his faith. They are devalued as humans and made to compensate for that devaluation by paying money. So the state of affairs imposed on the victims had still not been revoked. The consolidation of genocide was not completely broken.

Such genocidal tendencies and structures, kept under control by Badshah raised their head again after the death of Badshah. During the reign of Haidershah (1470-1472) the liberal and humane system created by Badshah was again broken. Pandit Jonaraja's disciple Srivara in his Rajatarangini gives and account of the reemergence and reconsolidation of the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits:

***dattā bhūrjanabhūpena yeṣāṃ guṇaparīkṣayā |***
***tebhyastāṃ nirnimittenāpi harannādhikāriṇaḥ || 2-127***

(Land allotted to virtuous people by Zainulabidin was taken back by the royal officers without assigning any reason.)

But that was not all. An extremely cruel, corrupt and evil barber named Poorna, became the closest associate of the ruler Sultan Haider Shah. Despite all complaints about his misdeeds, the Sutan did not sever his relations with Poorna. Srivara writes that the subjects treated live his children by the previous Sultan Badshah, were subjected to unimaginable atrocities by Poorna, the barber. He cut the body parts of many Hindus. He stopped people walking on the roads, took away five or six of and killed them by impalement. The spear penetrated the victims, and in that condition they remained alive for many nights while as their relatives kept shedding tears for them.Vaidurya, a doctor and an expert in herbal medicine was taken as a polluter and opposer by him. Poorna cut his hands, nose, lips, ears and released him.

Such atrocities by Poorna had infuriated the Brahmins. They had acquired a higher identity during the reign of Badshah. That is a characteristic of breaking of consolidation. The marginalized victim community is placed in the centerstage that raises their stature. The Brahmins retaliated. They destroyed a Khanqah, where Sayyad Faqirs used to stay. Muslims got angry and complained to the Sultan. (verse 2/122-123) The Sultan ordered persecution of Brahmins. He got so angry that he got severed their hands and nose. (verse 2/124)

The situation became so difficult for the Brahmins that they stopped wearing their ethnic dress. The same thing happened during Guatemalan genocide (1962-1996). To avoid being identified women decided to cut their hair and stopped wearing traditional costumes. Different municipalities in Guatemala had different costumes the use of which they stopped to avoid being killed. The same kind of situation is expressed by Srivara in his Rajatarangini:

***tyaktasvajātiveśāstaddineṣu brāhmaṇādayaḥ |***
***na bhaṭṭoahaṃ na bhaṭṭoahaṃ bhityūcurbhaṭṭaluṇṭhane || 2-125***

The time was such that the Brahmins abandoned the use of their ethnic dress. In the moments of pillage and plunder they, wearing the dress of the perpetrator community said, "We are not Battas, we are not Battas ( Kashmiri Brahmins). This is the consolidation of perpetrator identity which is the guarantee of security.

But Haidershah did not stop here. Like Suhabhatta he destroyed the places of religious heritage of Kashmiri Brahmins. He ordered breaking of idols of the deities worshipped by Brahmins:

***bahukhātakamukhyā ye pure santīṣṭa devatāḥ |***
***tanmūrtiloṭhanaṃ rājā mlecchapreraṇayādiṣat || 2-126***

At the behest of Muslims, the king ordered breaking of the idol of Bahukhātaka, the principal deity of the city.

This shows that after the death of Badshah, genocide was being reconsolidated and that reconsolidated state became the new status quo. After that more episodes of genocide followed. Each episode established a new status quo, with more thinning of the victim community. In 1496 CE Shmasuddin Araqi, a Sufi Shia of Noorbakshia school of Islamic jurisprudence. His biography Tohfatul Ahbab gives a detailed account of his temple demolitions. He built Khanqahs over these demolished temples, thus enabling their "eliminative repurposing." Eliminative repurposing is the performative act done by perpetrators to eliminate the elements of the heritage of the victims from their cultural sphere and repurpose them according to the cultural sphere of the perpetrator or give a neutral perspective to it. This has been a very common consolidative strategy of perpetrators of genocide, consistently put into practice in Kashmir. During this episode of genocide, the second exodus of Kashmiri Pandits occurred thus thinning their numbers and leading to more consolidation of the genocide. The third exodus during the Mughal rule in 17th century, the fourth during the Pathan rule in 18th century, the fifth in 1931and the sixth in 1947 during the tribal raid made Kashmiri Pandits a miniscule minority with little or no political, social and cultural significance. In 1990 the seventh episode of genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was unleashed bringing about their near total physical erasure from Kashmir.

In all these episodes of genocide, the bhakti (devotion) towards Turuṣkadarśana (Islamic philosophy) was the motivating force. Pandit Jonaraja had pointed out this fact about six centuries ago (verse 670, Rajatarangini) What is there in this philosophy that can motivate towards such genocidal episodes?

In Islam there is a very intense cleavage between believers and non-believers. There is no objective definition of a true Muslim. The commonly held view is that one who performs five-time prayers, believes in Allah, prophet and the holy book, observes fast during the holy month is a Muslim. These are the identity markers that a Muslim embodies. Then defining a non-believer becomes easy. One who does not believe in these identity markers of a Muslim is a non-believer, a Kafir. A Kafir should be persuaded to convert and if he does not agree the path for him is what was defined in three Kashmiri words:

**Raliv, Chaliv, Galiv**—convert, flee or die. That was what Suhabhatta did to non-believers due to his devotion towards Islamic philosophy. " Convert, flee or die" strategy led to the physical erasure of non-believers from the land. Their cultural heritage, their conceptual markers such as temples and other sacred places were slowly and steadily demolished or subjected to eliminative repurposing thus reducing the number of the markers of their existence.

It is apt here to have a look at the major elements of the concept of what constitutes a Kafir. The phenomenon is termed as " Kufr." There are ten major elements of Kufr though there can be many more minor ones.

1. Kufrul Inaad: This kind of disbeliever is a stubborn one who admits to know the truth that is Islam but refuses to accept it.
2. Kufrul Inkaar: one who denies the truth within him and with his tongue.
3. Kufrul Kibr: refers to an arrogant and proud disbeliever.
4. Kufrul Juhud: Those who understand the truth in their hearts but reject it with their tongue. Such Muslims who reject the basic rules of Islam for example performing namaz are included in it.
5. Kufrul Nifaq: who pretends to be a Muslim but does not believe in Islam. The main feature is that he hides his disbelief. Such people are called Munafiqs. They are the worst kind of disbelievers and are condemned to the worst level of hell.
6. Kufrul Istihal: Allah has made some things lawful (Halal) and somethings unlawful. Allah only has the right to declare things haram and halal. If a man tries to make haram into halal, that amounts to violating the right of Allah and being his rival. So such a person cannot be a Muslim but a Kafir.
7. Kufrul Kurh: one who detests some command of Allah.
8. Kufrul Istihzaha: One who expresses contempt, ridicule or mockery against anything that is contained in Islam.
9. Kufrul Iradh: One who makes up his mind to avoid the truth that is Islam.
10. Kufrul Istibdal: One who tries substitute Allah's laws with other laws. This can take two forms: a) A person can reject Allah's laws (Sharia) but does not deny them. Despite that he substitutes them with other laws. b) One who denies Sharia and substitutes it with other laws such as man made laws.

The concept of Kufr is a very strong and brilliant narrative of moral ethics that creates a shield against the entry of any other ideology into the sphere of Islam. It empowers a Muslim to think and act for himself as a Muslim so that his life and his experiences are shaped and interpreted in an Islamic way. Kufr is the basic constitutive element of a true Muslim that is " Momin" mind who is truly faithful and whose duty is to stand against Kufr. So Kufr is the foundational element of Islamic religious agency. For a Muslim Allah is the only law maker. No law can substitute his law that is Sharia. Islam is the only truth in this universe. Every other thought is non-truth. Kufr creates two spheres of existence. One is Islam that is the basic belief of a Muslim. This is the sphere of true and meaningful existence. The other one is the sphere of Kafirs that is just like a garbage bin. Ten major elements of Kufr given above provide very sensitive sensor to evaluate who is true to the faith and who is not. One who is not, can be very easily consigned to the garbage bin and disposed of. That is how Islamic agency works. It was on the basis of this agency that Suhabhatta committed atrocities on Kashmiri Pandits. The community to which he himself belonged turned into Kafirs after Suhabhatta embodied Islamic religious agency. This is the power of Islamic religious agency. Suhabhatta was power motivated and his community was fast losing power under Islamic genocidal assault. In that sense he was a victim of genocide. Islamic agency made him to forget his victimhood and he attained perpetratorhood. This is true of all who converted to Islam in Kashmir. As centuries passed, they became indifferent towards their victimhood and thus their genocide was consolidated.

With the framing of Indian constitution after the genocidal episode of 1947 came article 370 of the constitution. It gave special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir got its own constitution and flag. It became a subnation within a nation. To quote famous columnist and Kashmir thinker, Sunanda Vashisht who is also the chief of the Academic Council of Jonaraja Institute of Genocide and Atrocities Studies, the people who framed Indian constitution were not confident that it could address the needs of Kashmiri Muslims. Taking this argument a bit further within the sphere of the Islamic religious agency it appears that the framers of the article 370 wanted to save themselves from the tag of being called Kafirs, committing Kufrul Istibdal. A Muslim does not accept any constitution but the constitution of Allah, the law that is contained in Sharia. As Sharia could not be applied in Kashmir that was going to be a part of India, a democratic state, a separate constitution along with a flag was given. This article became the strongest element of consolidation of genocide in Kashmir. It, not only rewarded Kashmiri Muslims with special status for their historical perpetratorhood, it was based on total indifference towards the historical victimhood of Kashmiri Pandits. The consolidation of their genocide was taken as a matter of fact while framing article 370. As historical perpetratorhood was rewarded, the dehumanizing genocidal elements associated with it were carried forward in history and 1990 episode of genocide resulted. It was bound to happen.

As everyone, including Kashmiri Pandits, was indifferent towards the seven episodes of genocide that had occurred before 1990, the gains of these genocides stood consolidated by the perpetrator community. That is why they did not deny any of these genocides. Scholars like Henry Theriault say that consolidation succeeds where indifference replaces denial, that is there is no need to deny the facts of the past.

Since 1990, Kashmiri Pandits, the victims of genocide in Kashmir have not accepted their genocide hands down. They have been consistently talking about their genocide and have not allowed the indifference to set in. The 1990 episode of genocide has not been allowed to consolidate. That is why the perpetrators in Kashmir are constantly trying to give denialist narrative to defend their position.

After 2014, the new central government in India neutralized Article 370. The final stamp on its abolition was recently put by the Supreme Court. It is the greatest anti-genocide step taken by a government since Sultan Zainulabdin Badshah of Kashmir which he took to break the consolidation of genocide almost in the beginning of the third decade of 15th century about 600 years back.

The complete erasure of Article 370 has broken the state of indifference towards 6 episodes of genocide that preceded 1990. People are reading history and talking about all episodes of genocide unleashed on Kashmiri Pandits over a period of almost seven centuries. This brings us to the fact that when it comes to episodic genocide, if the indifference towards one episode is broken, consolidation of all episodes gets dissolved and the episodes enter the social consciousness as a chain of genocidal events.

In no case should any of us, be indifferent towards any episode of genocide that occurs anywhere in this world.

***Since 1990, Kashmiri Pandits, the victims of genocide in Kashmir have not accepted their genocide hands down. They have been consistently talking about their genocide and have not allowed the indifference to set in. The 1990 episode of genocide has not been allowed to consolidate. That is why the perpetrators in Kashmir are constantly trying to give denialist narrative to defend their position.***

# Catherine Duleep Singh- The Sikh Princess who helped Jewish Families escape Nazi Germany

***The details of many Jews Catherine managed to help are still emerging but, in some circles, she is referred to as the 'Indian Schindler' in honour of the German Industrialist, Oskar Schindler, who saved hundreds of Jews by employing them in his factories. One Jewish family that Catherine saved was the Hornstein family. Wilhelm Hornstein, a government lawyer from Braunschweig, Germany, was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, on the outskirts of Berlin, for several weeks.***

Princess Catherine Duleep Singh was born on 27 October 1871 in Thetford, Norfolk. Although she grew up in England, Catherine was the second daughter of the Maharaja Duleep Singh, the last Maharaja of the Sikh Empire in India who was deposed by the British following the last Anglo-Sikh war in 1849.

Catherine grew up in Elveden Hall in Norfolk, a traditional English estate that had been transformed into an ornate Mughal palace by her father. While her father was in India attempting to regain his throne, Catherine and her sisters were granted accommodation in Faraday House at Hampton Court by their godmother, Queen Victoria, who is said to have been particularly fond of the girls.

Catherine's father failed in his attempt to regain his throne and was imprisoned in India. After her mother's death, Catherine and her sisters were moved to Folkstone and to the care of Arthur Oliphant.

When living with the Oliphants, Catherine had a German governess, Fraulein 'Lina' Schäfer who was promptly befriended by Princess Catherine and became her lifelong partner. Catherine never forgot her Indian ancestry, and in 1903 she toured India, visiting Lahore, Kashmir, Dalhousie, Simla, and the holy Sikh city of Amritsar. There she attended Diwali festivities and met elderly Sikhs who had fought under her grandfather, Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the 'Lion of the Punjab'.

In 1908 Catherine and Lina moved to Kassel, where Lina was from, and lived together throughout the First World War. Lina and Catherine's accounts show this to be a happy time in their lives. Lina said, 'We are like two mice living in a little house', and Catherine wrote: 'I am having a very good time of it and enjoying myself thoroughly'. Despite living abroad, Catherine was a keen and active member of the women's suffrage movement in the UK. She was a Suffragist and a member of the Fawcett Women's Suffrage Group and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. In 1912 in order to raise funds for the 'Constitutional women's suffrage works' she established a forest of Christmas trees in Birmingham.

During the 1930s throughout the rise of Nazi party, and as Germany became a more and a more dangerous place for Jews to live, Catherine continued to live with Lina and helped German-Jewish families by providing a passage to England. The couple's neighbours are reported to have said that 'The local Nazis disapproved of the old Indian lady'. Nevertheless, the pair continued to help German-Jewish families until Lina passed away on 26 August 1937 aged 79. Catherine was deeply upset by her death. In her will, she requested that a quarter of her ashes be 'buried as near as possible to the coffin of my friend Fraulein Lina Schäfer'.

After Lina's death and with the threat of war looming, Catherine felt that Germany did not have much to offer. She decided to return to England and settled in Coalhatch House in Penn, Buckinghamshire, with her two sisters. Coalhatch House would become a refuge for several Jewish families who had fled Germany and to evacuees from the Blitz.

The details of many Jews Catherine managed to help are still emerging but, in some circles, she is referred to as the 'Indian Schindler' in honour of the German Industrialist, Oskar Schindler, who saved hundreds of Jews by

employing them in his factories. One Jewish family that Catherine saved was the Hornstein family. Wilhelm Hornstein, a government lawyer from Braunschweig, Germany, was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, on the outskirts of Berlin, for several weeks. Luckily Wilhelm was released because capacity at Sachsenhausen had been overestimated and he emerged from this experience thoroughly shaken. He fled immediately, without any money or possessions, to London. His wife, Ilse and their two children Klaus-George and Ursula, made their own plans to leave the country. A group of Quakers helped them to secure a passage to Australia in the following September, but this meant staying in Germany another nine months. The family met Catherine in Berlin, and she offered to let them stay with her at her home in Buckinghamshire. She arranged visa sponsorship letters to enable the whole family to be reunited in England. In 2003 Ursula reflected on the kindness of Catherine:

'A perfect stranger to do that...what you might call a good Samaritan.'

Catherine passed away at her house in Buckinghamshire on 8 November 1942. However, her legacy is shrouded by what was expected to be an exciting discovery, when her bank account was unearthed in 1997. Catherine had no children, so the account was only discovered when the Swiss Bankers Association released a list of dormant bank accounts as part of an effort to restore properties of Holocaust victims to their descendants.

There was a great deal of speculation that the account would hold documents that could prove that the Kohinoor diamond that adorns the British crown jewels was taken from the Maharaja Duleep Singh by deceit. The account was found to contain only money, 137,323 Swiss Francs.

There were a number of claimants, but the money was eventually awarded to the descendants of Catherine's sister Bamba.

# Understanding Armenian Genocide

The extermination of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and the surrounding regions during 1915-1923 is called the Armenian Genocide.
Those massacres were masterminded and perpetrated by the government of Young Turks and were later finalized by the Kemalist government.
The First World War gave the Young Turks the opportunity to settle accounts with Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, thus implementing the decision of the secret meeting of 1911 in Thessaloniki. The plan was to tukify the Muslims and to exterminate the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. Talaat Pasha (Interior Minister), Enver Pasha (Minister of Military Affairs), Djemal Pasha (commander of the Palestinian Front), Behaeddin Shakir Bey (Young Turk Central Committee member) and others were among the orchestrators of the project.
Intending to annihilate Armenians, they wanted to eliminate the Armenian Question. Armenia and Armenians were an obstacle on the way of the project of the Young Turks. Their dream of "Great Turan" was to stretch from the Bosphorus to Altai. During the First World War the Young Turks perpetrated massacres against Assyrians, Greeks and Arabs living in the Ottoman Empire.
In February 1915 the military minister Enver Pasha ordered to eliminate the Armenian soldiers serving in the Army. On April 24 and the following days 800 Armenians were arrested in Constantinople and exiled to the depths of Anatolia. Armenian writers, journalists, doctors, scientists, clergymen, intellectuals including Armenian members of the parliament were among them. A part of them died on the way of the exile, while others died after reaching there. The first international response to the violence resulted in a joint statement by France, Russia and the Great Britain in May 1915, where the Turkish atrocities against the Armenians were defined as "a crime against humanity and civilization". According to them, Turkish government was responsible for the implementation of the crime.

**Why was the Armenian Genocide perpetrated?**
When WWI erupted, the government of the Young Turks adopted the policy of Pan-Turkism, hoping to save the remains of the weakened Ottoman Empire. The plan was to create an enormous Ottoman Empire that would spread to China, include all the Turkish speaking nations of the Caucasus and Middle Asia, intending also to turkify all the ethnic minorities of the empire. The Armenian population became the main obstacle standing in the way of the realization of this policy. Besides, the constitution restored after the Revolution of 1908 promised equal rights to all citizens of the Ottoman Empire. Armenians enthusiastically embraced this opportunity, however the change of status of previously deprived Armenians increased the hostility of the Turks towards Christians. This hostility was formed long ago, as even in the conditions of deprivation Armenians of the Ottoman empire provided unprecedented social, cultural and economic development. The genocide was a means to suppress this ascent, as well as to seize the Armenian wealth created during decades.
The Young Turks used WWI as a suitable opportunity for the implementation of the Armenian genocide, although it was planned in 1911-1912.

**How many people died in the Armenian Genocide?**
There were an estimated two million Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire before the First World War. Approximately one and a half million Armenians were killed from 1915-1923. The remaining part was either islamized or exiled.

**The mechanism of implementation**
A genocide is the organized extermination of a nation aiming to put an end to their collective existence. Thus, the implementation of the genocide requires oriented programming and an internal mechanism, which makes genocide a state crime, as only a state possesses all the resources that can be used to carry out this policy.
The first phase of the Armenian Genocide was the conscription of about 60,000 Armenian men into the Ottoman army, their disarmament and murder by their Turkish fellow soldiers.
The second phase of the extermination of the Armenian population started on April 24, 1915 with the arrest of several hundred Armenian intellectuals and representatives of national elite (mainly in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople) and their subsequent elimination. Hereinafter, Armenians worldwide started to commemorate the Armenian genocide on April 24.
The third phase of the genocide is characterized with the exile of the massacres of women, children, elderly people to the desert of Syria. Hundreds of thousands of people were murdered by Turkish soldiers, police officers, Kurdish bandits during the deportation. The others died of epidemic diseases. Thousands of women and children were subjected to violence. Tens of thousands were forcibly islamized.
The fourth phase is the universal and absolute denial of the Turkish government of the mass deportations and genocide carried out against Armenians in their homeland. Despite the ongoing process of international condemnation of the Armenian Genocide, Turkey fights against recognition by all means, including distortion of history, means of propaganda, lobbying activities and other measures.

## Studying Genocide is Extremely Important

*Genocide is a structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus or a similar or equivalent structure. Genocide represents a systematic effort over time to liquidate a national population, usually a minority and functions as a fundamental policy to assure conformity and participation of citizenry. The institute exists to learn in depth about Genocide in details and how individuals can recognise patterns and frame policies to prevent genocide.*

# Pavak

**Phone:**
+91-99062-87277

**Website:**
www.jonaraja.com

**Instagram:**
jigas_india